where the land had been subjected to many years of close grazing by Masai cattle. Nevertheless, he recommended the legalization of this trade as being preferable to the system of smuggling then obtaining and proposed that this should be effected by gazetting ports through which livestock could be taken from and into the reserve. Weikei, Ngong, Kiserian and Saukutiek were suggested as suitable places for the establishment of trading centres. 648* 439

The question of the advisability of opening up the Masai Reserve for trading purposes was referred by Government to the various Farmers' Associations in June, 1914, but, owing no doubt to the dislocation of business caused by the war, no replies were received.

Establishment of trading centres, July, 1914. 648* 439 36

In July, 1914, Mr. Hemsted reported that he was obtaining the signatures of the Masai representatives to the 1911 Treaty to the agreements which were a necessary prelude to the opening of trading centres in the reserve. He found the Masai generally to be quite willing to set apart the requisite land for the purpose and proposed that each trading centre should embrace 100 acres of two-acre plots, with the stipulation that the Masai were not to be deprived of any grazing ground except such as was included in the actual plots. The Masai had not asked for any compensation in respect of the land to be granted for these trading centres, but Mr. Hemsted suggested that it would be equitable to apply the rent charged for the leasing of the plot for the benefit of the Masai themselves. He proposed a rental of twelve rupees a month per plot which would, he thought, be sufficiently high to discourage the petty indigent Swahili without deterring the better class trader. He proposed to restrict trade to the resident store-keepers, thus giving owners of plots the monopoly, and to forbid itinerant trading: and, in view of the recommendations of the Chief Veterinary Officer, he suggested the erection of dips at those trading centres which were to be the main points of exit from the reserve in order that all animals intended for removal therefrom might undergo a course of dipping. The requirements of the Kikuyu and Lumbwa peoples could be met by the establishment of markets at various points outside the Reserve, which would be preferable to allowing the continuance of the system of itinerant trading by these natives.

In a supplementary letter, Mr. Hemsted named twenty-one localities at which he suggested the establishment of trading centres. These were:—Narok, Ngong, Mara River (Engirende), L'aitokitok, Kanamu (near Kiu), Kedong, Ndulele (on the Narok-Kijabe cart road), Uaso Nyiro (near Aggett's store), Narosura River (near Van de Weyer's store), Endasegera (in the Loita Hills), Sianna, Ol Alungo (fifteen miles above Aggett's), Lemek, Mara Bridge, Ol Joro lo Ngatuny (in Ol-Orokuti country), Gelegele (on the Kisii road), Bardamat (twenty miles south-east of Engirende), Mau (near Likia on the Nakuru track), Kandis (on the Mbagathi River), Weikei River (on the Narok-Kijabe road), Saukutiek River on the Mau (on the Naivasha track). The exits from the reserve would be at Ngong, Kandis, Weikei and Saukutiek and the erection of dips was recommended at these four exits. Later in the year he suggested the addition to this list of Ol Joroibor and Metigyuju trading centres, for which the exits would be Kandis, Ngong or Tsavo.

Cost of erection of dips.

The Chief Veterinary Officer had suggested that the Masai might be asked to defray the cost of erection of these dips, but the Officer-in-Charge gave his opinion that, as the dips were to be constructed primarily in the interests of veterinary requirements outside the reserve in order to prevent the spread of disease, it would be inequitable to request the Masai to pay for their erection even though the natives might make use of them.

Mr. Hemsted's proposals approved.

The Governor remarked that the selected sites and exits appeared to be well chosen and in September, 1914, agreed to all Mr. Hemsted's proposals, including his recommendations about the cost of the dips.

Military requirements.

At the commencement of the war, the Intelligence Department expressed the desire that all Indian, Somali, and native traders be removed from the reserve, but it was subsequently arranged that they should be allowed to carry on their business at the trade centres and as it became necessary to exploit the Masai

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Reserve to ensure supplies of beef and mutton for the troops, arrangements were made in September, 1914, for trustworthy Somalis to exchange, on permit, cows and heifers for sheep and bullocks in the reserve, subject to restrictions limiting the number of cows imported to thirty-five head per journey and regulations necessitating the sale to Government of the stock so obtained at Ngong station. The price for sale to the Military Authorities was fixed at Rs. 4–5 per sheep and Rs. 30–50 per bullock for a beast of about 350 lbs. killing weight.

The Closing of the Masai Reserve to trade.

In August, 1915, instructions emanated from the Secretariat prohibiting until further orders the issue of permits to enter the Masai Reserve, while all Somalis then in the reserve were to be removed before the end of September. Such a step was necessitated by the military situation and the food requirements of the troops were met by authority to commandeer stock from the Masai for cash.

In October, 1915, it became necessary for the General Staff to order the closing down of all trading centres situated within twenty miles of the Anglo-German border, while at the same time all traders were prohibited from entering that area. In January, 1916, further restrictions were enforced and traders were excluded from the district east of the Mara River which had not previously been closed. This order was subsequently modified to permit trading in established centres north of the Kijabe-Mara cart road, but with a total prohibition on itinerant trading.

Military restrictions removed.

The trading centres which were thus closed to Indians, Somalis and Swahilis comprised Mara Bridge, Sianna, Narosura, Endasegera, Gelegele, Mogor, Bardamat and Ol-Orokuti, all of which were within forty miles of the boundary, but in response to Mr. Hemsted's representations, the Military Authorities permitted the opening of these stations in July, 1916, on the understanding that no undesirable person should obtain a plot and that the prohibition on itinerant trading should remain in force.

"Gazette" notice re trading centres in the Masai Reserve.

On the 8th of December, 1915, a schedule of trading centres was published in the "Official Gazette." The Notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigira, Ole Gosheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Tuere, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of 2 acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"H. C. BELFIELD,

"*Governor.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 8th day of December, 1915."

SCHEDULE.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the Trade Centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Narok Government Station	Narok River, 70 miles from Kijabe.
2.	Engiresale (Mara) Govt. Station ..	Mara River, where it bends West.
3.	Engong Government Station	Ngong Hills, 14 miles West of Nairobi.
4.	Guaso N'giro	N'giro River, 80 miles from Kijabe.
5.	Mara Bridge	Mara River, 7 miles below Engiresale.
6.	Mau	Near Soukutiek River.
7.	Mau	Mau Narok, near Likia.
8.	Narrowarra	Narrowarra River, a tributary of the Guaso N'giro.
9.	Ol Alung'a	Upper Guaso N'giro, Western Bank.
10.	Enkaregera	Loita Hills.
11.	Lemek	Lemek Valley.
12.	Ol Orgosi	Trans-Mara region at Ol Joro, Ngatany.
13.	Ndabibi	At Previn Dam.
14.	Weikei	On Weikei River.
15.	Sianna	Loita Hills.
16.	Gelegele	Gelegele Hill, on Kisii Border.
17.	Ravlatmet	Loita Plains.
18.	Mogor	Mogor River, Trans-Mara region.
19.	Angata Pusi	Lower Mara, East Bank.
20.	Angata Nanda	Lower Siyabei River.
21.	Uaso Kedong	Kedong Valley, below farms.
22.	Kandia	Athi River.
23.	Ol Joroibor	A stream at the South end of Mt. Esaparasha, Matapato Country.
24.	Metiganju	Metiganju River, in the Ol Ositkitok Country.

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In view of the fact that cattle were being commandeered from the Masai and bought for cash, the question of the advisability of permitting the Masai to purchase stock with cash so obtained was brought forward by Mr. Hemsted in February, 1916. He represented that new blood would be beneficial and that the small numbers of cattle so purchased would not materially affect the situation and therefore he recommended that established traders be permitted to bring cattle to their stores for sale to the Masai for cash. The Governor approved this measure but considered that it would be a good thing if it could be arranged that the opportunities given to the Masai for purchase should be limited to higher grade cattle to the exclusion of native stock. The Rule under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, dated the 4th of February, 1913 (*vide* p. 91), was therefore cancelled by Rule in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of March, 1916.

Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve.

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In October, 1916, Mr. Hemsted submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the policy which should be pursued in regard to itinerant trade in the Masai Reserve. He deprecated any policy of throwing open the reserve to unrestricted itinerant trading. A large business had been built up by the better class of merchant at the trading centres, by which the requirements of the Masai had been greatly augmented and had to a very considerable extent been met. Itinerant trading would force these men to adopt similar methods and would lead to the discontinuation of trade centres. The Masai would be content if articles were brought to their doors and would never visit the centres, thus losing touch with outside influences and with the benefits accruing from competition between merchants. The question also affected the labour market, as thousands of Kikuyu would prefer making a livelihood by barter with the Masai to working for wages. The system of trading centres had proved both beneficial and acceptable to the Masai who appreciated the cheaper rate at which they could obtain goods, while they had found from experience that the system of itinerant trading led to many cases of theft or alleged theft.

Itinerant trading. Mr. Hemsted's views.

The result of the establishment of trading centres and of the exclusion of the itinerant trader had been the establishment of shops by more than one hundred and twenty merchants in the Narok and Mara districts alone and the Masai had asked for eight more centres in these districts. Trade had been almost at a standstill in the Ngong districts, where there were only three trade centres, but the opening of

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twelve more had recently been asked for and Mr. Hemsted anticipated that there would shortly be from 250-300 plot-holders in the reserve if the present system was adhered to. Masai funds would therefore benefit to the extent of two or three thousand pounds a year from rent of plots.

Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions.

Mr. Ainsworth, to whom the memorandum was referred, considered that a system of monopoly would not achieve progress and that the confinement of trade to plot-holders was undoubtedly such a system. The conservative ideas of the Masai would, he thought, be more rapidly changed by encouraging the greater freedom of trade. Plot-holders would benefit by any increase in the cattle trade on a cash basis, particularly if the itinerant cattle trader was confined to making purchases for cash. Mr. Ainsworth accordingly suggested, for adoption as Government policy, the commencement as soon as possible of a property tax on the Masai, the prohibition of barter of stock except as between Masai and Masai, the encouragement of the erection of permanent houses by the chiefs and principal elders, restrictions on the importation of cattle into the reserve, the establishment of stock markets at trade centres at which cash sales should be enforced and the confining of itinerant traders to the various markets. Itinerant traders should only be permitted to enter the reserve on passes from District Commissioners and natives of other tribes should only be allowed in the Masai Reserve for limited periods unless properly employed by non-natives. Finally, he recommended that a schedule be drawn up of improvements necessary or desirable in the interests of the Masai and that the Masai be invited to associate themselves with such improvements and make an annual contribution towards their being undertaken.

Mr. Hemsted's comments.

Mr. Hemsted, in commenting on Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions, remarked that it appeared improbable that the Masai would ever develop into porters or agricultural labourers and that the only feasible policy appeared to be to develop them as stock breeders, in which capacity they would be a far greater asset to the country. Their ideas were already changing. About 20,000 bullocks and 180,000 sheep had been provided for the military authorities and forty-four trading centres had been set apart, wherein some two hundred plots had been leased on temporary occupation licences. Trade in the Masai Reserve was greater in proportion to population than in any other part of the Protectorate. He recommended that the introduction of cattle into the reserve should be unrestricted. The natural increase of the Masai herds approximated 90,000 per annum and the number introduced from outside would be negligible in comparison. Moreover, new blood was beneficial and the Masai stock was deteriorating owing to in-breeding. The necessity for supervision would render difficult and expensive any system whereby itinerant traders, as opposed to plot-holders, were permitted to sell in open market even at trade centres, and he hardly thought the policy of compelling traders to sell for cash to be practicable.

Further trade centres gazetted.

Two notices published in the "Official Gazette" of November 22nd, 1916, indicated the opening of twenty more trade centres in the Masai Reserve. The Notices read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya and Ole Galishu, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,

"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

SCHEDULE.

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Oberian	Approximate 15 miles West of Ngong on En Donyo Narok.
2.	Loberiak	Approximate 20 miles from Ngong, immediately below and West of En Donyo Narok.
3.	Sabagai	Approximate 17 miles South of mile 260, Uganda Railway, on the Sand River.
4.	Ngorangaish	Approximate 11 miles East of Kajiado-Longido Road where it passes En Donyo Erok.
5.	Turaka	South of mile 55, Magadi Railway.
6.	Ilmil	A river approximate 20 miles from Kajiado, on the Kajiado-Longido Road.
7.	Simba	Aungata Ngotiko peak.
8.	Ngorigishi	Approximate 10 miles South of Magadi Railway and 6 East of Ilmil-Longido Road.
9.	Ol Lemerau	A river about 5 miles South of mile 10 of the Magadi Railway, and 3 hours from Kiu.
10.	Mbajor Ol Kukuya	About 6 miles from Magadi Junction.
11.	Naramuto	A river flowing N.E. from Kibo peak in Kilimanjaro into the Laitokitok country.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of the above trading centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigisa, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turero, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot, per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

SCHEDULE.

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Lekuie	Southern slopes of Il Melili.
2.	Rotiyan	About 10 miles North of Narok Station on Siyabei River.
3.	Ol Onkori	Southern slopes of Mau, about 24 miles North of Narok Station.
4.	Mauve	Left Bank of Guaso Ngiro, about 35 miles South of Narok Station.
5.	Enduug'anir	North-East Loita Hills.
6.	Ongongo Olorbi	East Loita Hills.
7.	Morijo	North Loita Hills, on the Engoyangilani Streams.
8.	Ryai Garra	Central Loita Hills.
9.	Ol Motiyo le Kamunien	N.W. of Mt. Suswa (Ol Doinyo O Nyukye) about 3 miles South of Kijabe-Mara waggon road.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of the above trade centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

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No modification made. February, 1917.

The question of the advisability of once more allowing free entry of cattle into the reserve was discussed in Executive Council, on the 28th of February, 1917, when it was decided that no interference with, or modification of, the existing arrangements was desirable.

Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for gazetting townships.

In October, 1917, Mr. Hemsted made proposals with a view to the regulation of trade in the reserve, and to the granting of facilities to persons, other than the licensed plot-holders. He suggested that all trade centres be declared townships, with markets declared therein and rules applied, and he proposed that no trading should be permitted except at the gazetted trade centres. He contended that the bringing of the Masai into touch with outside influences, the benefits of competition, the encouragement induced to place trade on a cash basis, and the assistance which would thereby be given to the native labour supply, were advantages which might be claimed for this system, while it would also be more practicable to enforce the veterinary regulations. The Masai, as well as all traders, except some Somalis, were in favour of confining trade to the trade centres. No fees would be charged to persons buying in the centres for cash only, but a schedule of fees for licences and of market fees was suggested.

The question was considered in Executive Council, of the 12th of January, 1918, when the consensus of opinion was that matters should remain as they were. The Officer-in-Charge, who was present during the discussion, did not wish to press his recommendations.

Further trading centres gazetted.

Five additional trading centres were opened by notice in the "Official Gazette," of January 30th, 1918. The notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate, with the consent of the Paramount Chief, and the representatives of the Masai tribe, is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve, in centres, the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto, on the terms and conditions following:—

"(The conditions are the same as those previously specified.)

"W. J. MONSON,

"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 28th day of January, 1918."

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SCHEDULE.

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Kajiado	Within one mile North of Kajiado Railway Station, on the Magadi Railway.
2.	Nenki	Within one mile North of Nenki Station, on the Magadi Railway.
3.	Namanga	On Namanga water course on Kajiado-Longido road.
4.	Meto	On Meto water course in the Ondongo le Meto.
5.	Ngurumun	At the North-West foot of Ol Doinyo Shombole, on the East Bank of the Ginno Njiro River, shortly before it enters Lake Natron.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the above trading centres is "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

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FL12 Masai FL12

P. 98-A	P. 98-B	P. 98-C
	P. 98-D	P. 98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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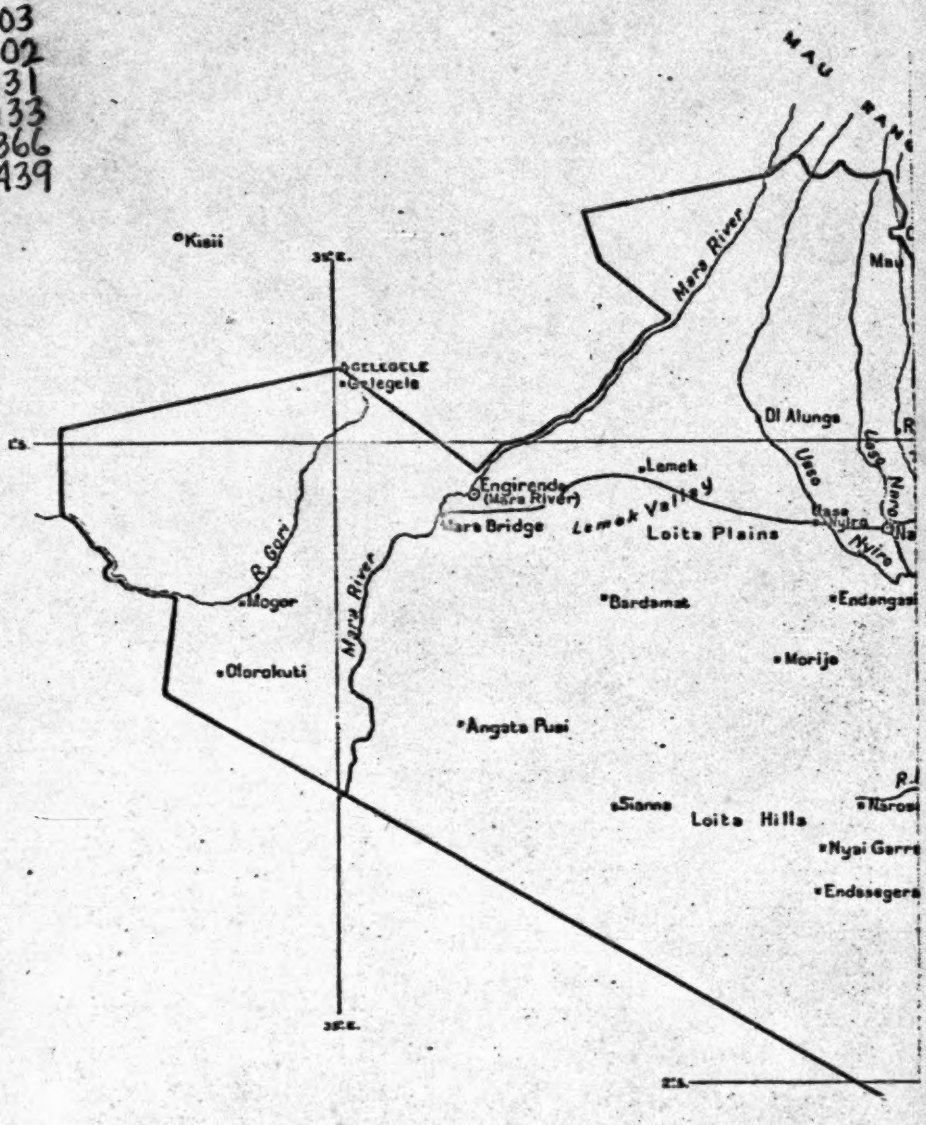

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-B]

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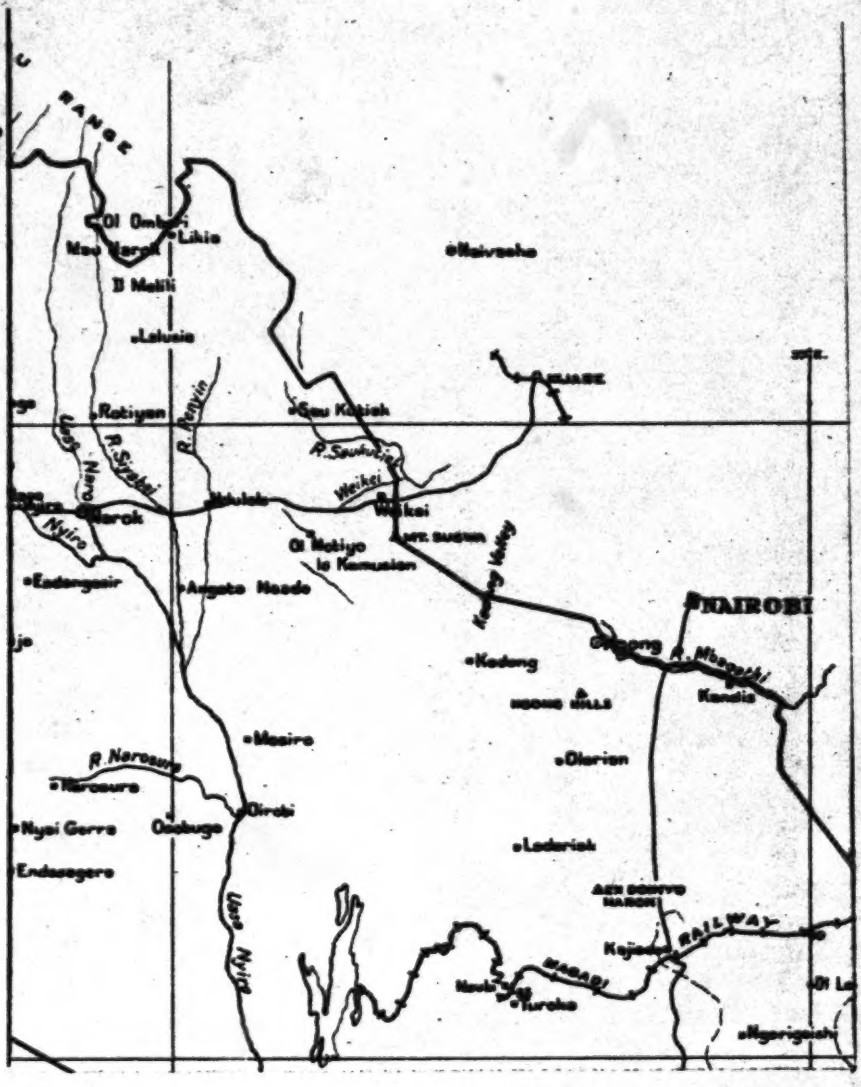

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.98-C]

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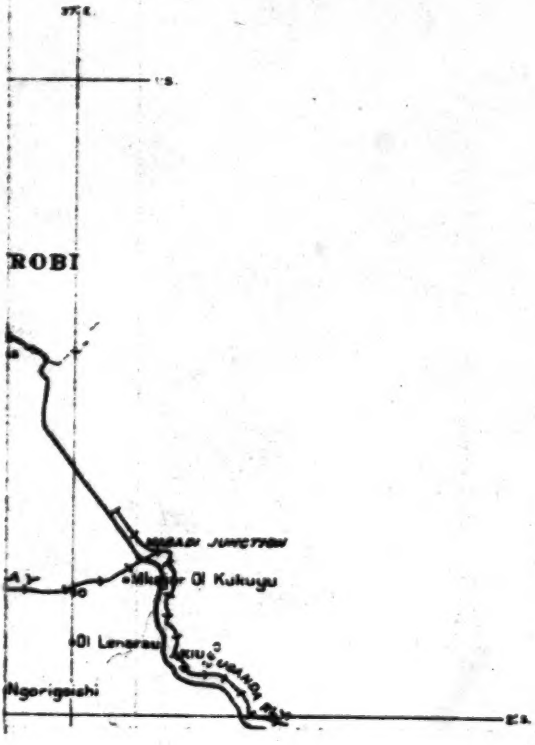
TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000.



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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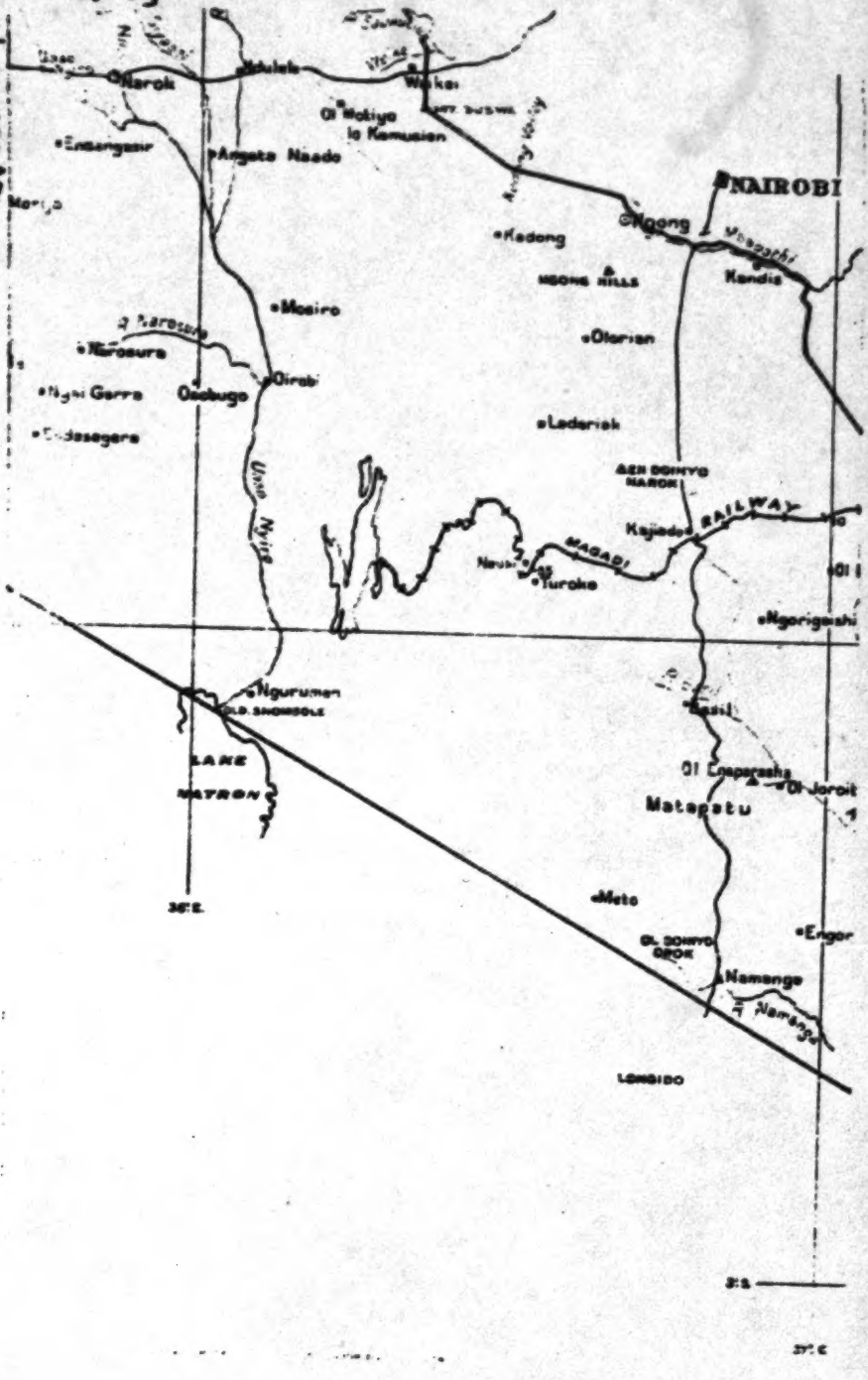

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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